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ABSTRACT

This paper chronicles the history and many achievements of the deans of women at American colleges and universities in order to celebrate their contributions to academic life. The struggles and accomplishments of the early deans of women, and the creation of the position of dean of men which followed are described. While the deans of men resisted graduate education and the role of administrative coordinator of student life and education, the deans of women encouraged graduate study for training new deans and for expanding the opportunities for research. The "personnel" movement of the 1930s and the publication of "Personnel Procedure in Education" by the American Council on Education incorporated the deans of women's ideas. The role of gender bias in the disappearance of the position of dean of women is also considered. This history shows that much of the initial research completed on students, student culture, and the value of higher education was completed by women, who were either deans or educating deans. The development of student support services, career development activities, discipline and other student-related research was generated, conducted and supported by the deans of women. (Contains 35 references.) (JPB)

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Reconceptualizing the Leadership Roles of Women in Higher Education: A Brief History on the Importance of Deans of Women

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Reconceptualizing the Leadership Roles of Women in Higher Education: A Brief History on the Importance of Deans of Women

A New Perspective

In the early 1970's, Annette Weiner traveled to the Trobriand Islands near New Guinea. The Trobriand Islands may be unfamiliar to some to which Weiner offers the following explanation, "For those familiar with any social science, the Trobriand Islands need little introduction. Their renown is due to the voluminous and often brilliant writings of Branislaw Malinowski, who lived in the Trobriands for two years between 1915 and 1918. (p. xv)." Malinowski published extensively, using his experiences and observations among the Trobrianders to establish himself as one of the major figures in cultural anthropology and ethnography.

In 1976, Weiner published her study of the Trobriand Islanders in a book titled Women of Value, Men of Renown. Weiner juxtaposes her own observations made in the 1970's against those of Malinowski from the 1920's. She demonstrates sharp distinctions between the world Malinowski saw and the same, relatively untouched and unchanged world she observed some 50 years later. Initially what becomes clear from Weiner's depiction of Trobriand life and culture in Women of Value,Men of Renown (1976) is that the interpretation of events and actions of people is often prone to misinterpretation. What is even more obvious through Weiner's "revisions" of Malinowski's ethnographic study is that perspective and point of view are critical factors in such interpretations.

The ultimate point Weiner demonstrates is that one of the most fatal of the flaws in such interpretations are the presumption of gender superiority or dominance. Malinowski expected men in the Trobriand culture to be the primary source of power and exchange of items of value. As a result, that is exactly what he found and it colors all of his interpretations and writings. When he did write about the Trobriand women, which was infrequent, he did it through conversations and

interpretations provided by the men in the villages, not from the women. As Weiner states in her final chapter, "We unquestioningly accept male statements about women as factual evidence for the way a society is structured. . . . From this view, since we compare women to men in the context of politics, we should not be surprised that we arrive at the almost universal notion that women's status is secondary to that of men. (p.228).

Weiner's own observations and re-interpretation is that the women in the Trobriand culture are actually in control of and manipulate much of the wealth and thereby influence Trobriand society to a much larger degree than Malinowski ever acknowledged. Women control not only yams, a critical source of the economy, but they also are responsible for the practical and spiritual processes of birth and death, major focal points of Trobriand culture. It turns out that Trobriand women are not just equal, a point Malinowski never considered, but in many respects, they are the dominant gender as they control much of the power and economy in their culture.

How could someone as gifted and insightful as Malinowski miss these critical observations ? How does such an oversight happen? Quite simply, as a male anthropologist, Malinowski presumed that the men were in charge and in control. Even though he was trained to observe and note behavior with excruciating detail, Malinowski did not leave his biases and his vision of what he saw in European society behind when he came to the Trobriand Islands. Instead he viewed the culture of the Islanders in much the same way he might have examined a neighborhood or a school near his own home- men would be in charge and have the power, women would assume subservient roles and have primary dominion over children and household affairs[1].

To a large degree, these same misinterpretations and exclusions have affected the study of higher education in America. Women have been overlooked. For example, consider how significant the following demographic information is

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[1] Weiner never directly says Malinowski was wrong, but implies significant differences between her view and his earlier interpretations.

when looking at American higher education. In 1870, women accounted for only 21 percent of the undergraduate population. By 1890, the numbers had climbed to 35 percent By 1920, women represented 47 percent of the undergraduate students enrolled in American colleges and universities (Graham, 1978). These are impressive and significant changes in a "culture" which had for years excluded or minimized the role of women. Consider as well that as the enrollment of women increased, many college presidents appointed female faculty members to advise, assist, and counsel female students. These women were given the title of "dean of women" to reflect their new dual roles.

Over sixty years, from the late 1800's through World War II, a new profession, deans of women, established the foundations of professional practice for student affairs and higher education administration, including graduate study, the development of professional associations, research on students, college environments, and student guidance and counseling. The deans of women developed a body of professional literature which included journals, research reports, and books. The deans of women worked hard to "professionalize" the position of dean and to legitimize their role on the predominantly male college campus. As women, they saw their role, profession, and gender inextricably tied together (Cott, 1987; Chafe, 1972). As a profession, they established a clear pattern of leadership, leading unprecedented numbers of young women through the gauntlet of college life and fostering the development of guidance, counseling, and the advisement of all students, both male and female. The entire field of student services, from admission and orientation to student activities and housing to career services, can be traced to the work of the deans of women.

Yet to a large degree, the deans of women have been excluded from the story of higher education. Many of the significant accomplishments of the deans of women have been lost or ignored in compilations of the modern history of higher education. What remains is an unfortunate caricature of deans of women as "snooping battle axes" (Rhatighan, 1978). The image of the dean of women

imprinted in many minds is one of a spinsterly, prudish woman whose energies were directed towards the bedevilment of fun-seeking, harmless youth.

In large part, this inaccurate view is similar to Malinowski's misinterpretation of the Trobriand society. The male voice which has dominated higher education, including the written and oral histories of American colleges and universities, has rarely given much credit to women and especially not the deans of women. Even in the present, deans of women have never received true or honest credit for their accomplishments. Despite their many achievements which this paper will briefly chronicle, the deans of women have generally been discounted. discredited, or ignored. In reality, the deans of women were consummate professionals who anchored much of their work to the academic principals of rigorous research and scholarly dissemination of their findings. Many of the significant and well-established practices of student affairs work and higher education administration which exist today were first put in place through the work of the deans of women. Upon closer examination, a much different story emerges as Annette Weiner provided in the Trobriand Islands, a much more realistic and honest picture of deans of women and deserves to be told.

The Early Deans of Women

To begin at the beginning, by most accounts, the first significant appointment of a woman as a dean of women was Alice Freeman Palmer. A graduate one of the early coeducational institutions, the University of Michigan,, Palmer had been the very popular, young president at Wellesley College. However, she resigned her presidency when she married Harvard philosopher, George Herbert Palmer in 1887 (Solomon, 1980). Eager to stay active in women's education, she agreed to be dean of women and professor of history at the University of Chicago in 1892 after incessant lobbying by Chicago president, William Rainey Harper. Nonetheless, Alice Freeman Palmer was reluctant to leave Boston, in large part because her new husband, George, refused to accompany her. To sweeten the deal, Harper

offered the caveat that she need only serve on a part time basis, allowing her to spend several months in Chicago and the rest in Boston (Palmer, 1909). To share the workload, Alice Palmer persuaded Harper to hire her good friend and protégé, Marion Talbot as Dean of Women for the University College and assistant professor of domestic sciences. When Palmer resigned three years later, Talbot became dean (Talbot, 1925).

The appointment of other deans of women followed quickly, paralleling the increases in the enrollment of women in colleges and universities across the country. In 1903, Marion Talbot of Chicago called for a meeting of other deans of women[2]. In response, seventeen deans of women, representing the Universities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Colorado, Kansas, Iowa, Ohio State, Michigan and Indiana University as well as Northwestern, Ripon, Carleton, Barnard, Oberlin, Beloit and Illinois College convened in Chicago (History Committee of the National Association of Deans of Women, 1927). Their agenda at the meeting included discussion on the housing of women students, training in etiquette and social skills, women's self-government, leadership opportunities for women students and women's intercollegiate athletics.

Soon organizations representing deans of women in state colleges, private colleges, and teachers colleges were formed. In 1910, newly victorious from a battle over gender segregation to the University of Chicago, Marion Talbot published her first book titled, The Education of Women.[3] In 1915, Lois K. Mathews, dean of women and associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin published

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[2] Marion Talbot was following the example of her mother who in 1888 had organized the charter session of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae; a meeting attended by both Marion Talbot and Alice Freeman

[3] In fact, the University of Chicago did institute segregation by sex between 1903 and 1907, largely in response to protests by male students and faculty against the large numbers of women winning academic awards and scholarships (Talbot, 1925).

the first book on deans, The Dean of Women.[4]

Many deans of women expressed interest in gaining more specific skills and training for their new positions. In response, a graduate program was established at Teachers College of Columbia University specifically to train deans of women in 1916. Less than a year later, in 1917, a national organization, the National Association of Deans of Women, was established as a branch of the National Education Association (NADW, 1927)

The deans of women were diligent in building their profession on the bedrock of academic discipline, research and publication. Many of the deans appointed in the late 1800's and early decades of the 1900's already held advanced degrees in their own fields. Most held faculty rank and continued to teach despite the added responsibility of being a dean. As Lois Mathews noted in her book, The Dean of Women, a dean "must win her spurs in the classroom. . . . There is no more effective place for inculcating respect for women's powers and equipment than on the teaching side of a desk in the college classroom" (pp. 32-3).

The deans of women were early champions of new scientific methods of guidance for students. They often challenged each other and their campuses to "do the right thing" by women. During the 1920's, the graduate programs at Teachers College, Columbia generated new research on deans of women as well as studies on women in higher education. In 1928, Jane Jones, a graduate student at Teachers College published her research study titled A Personnel Study of Women Deans in Colleges and Universities. Jones heard from 263 women who held positions as deans. In her sample, 91 percent or 238 had earned at least a bachelors degree, 57 percent or 151 had also earned a masters degree and 15 percent or 40 had earned the doctorate. In response to the question "do you hold academic rank?," 197 or 74.9 percent responded that they did, while only 66 or 25.1 percent did not.

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[4] In 1925, Talbot and Mathews (later Rosenberry) collaborated on a history of the American Association of University Women, the modern evolution of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA) to which they, as did many deans of women, belonged. The ACA was in many ways the "mother" of the NADW.

Of those deans who held faculty positions, the breakdown of rank was as follows: "Lecturer 1 -0.9%; Instructor 23-8.8%; Assistant Professor 34-12.9%; Associate Professor 34-12.9%; and Professor 105-39.9%" (Jones, 1928, pp. 12-14).

It is important to note that a majority of deans, almost 40 percent, held the rank of professor. In addition, a large majority of the deans of women who responded to the Jones' survey taught in traditional arts and sciences areas, not in more traditional, female areas such as nursing or education. The academic disciplines represented were English (57), History (21), Hygiene (17), French (16), Education (15), and Home Economics (10) (of a total of thirty-six (36) academic areas reported.)

As the profession expanded, the commitment to research continued. Ruth Strang, professor of education at Teachers College, headed the Research Committee of the National Association of Deans of Women through the 1930's. Diligent in her efforts, Strang and her colleagues at Teachers College, Sarah Sturtevant and later Esther Lloyd-Jones oversaw many graduate research projects and regularly published many. In the preface to the report of the NADW Research Committee in 1934, as published in the yearbook of the NADW, Strang noted,

> . . . the position of dean of women has both artistic and scientific aspects. The artistic side is represented in the inspirational and philosophical articles; the scientific aspect in the description survey and experimental study of plans and procedures of work with individuals. It has been the self-imposed task of the Research Committee to summarize the investigations relating to the work of dean of women, and to make easily available annually the more or less scientific body of professional subject-matter published during the year. (Report of the Research Committee, NADW Yearbook, 1934, pp. 56)

Strang encouraged her peers to continues to do research and to write, noting that

> . . . only 140 of the 461 articles analyzed [by her Research Committee] involved some systematic investigation. Professors and directors of guidance emphasize the need for measures of the effects of guidance services and

opportunities. Well-planned programs of guidance should be set up, groups of students followed through these programs, complete records kept at each step and the results carefully measured (NADW, 1934, pp. 129)

Under Ruth Strang's leadership, the Research Committee of the National Association of Deans of Women had identified some 115 articles which might be of use to the deans in 1934. Through Strang's influence, comparable reports and bibliographies were prepared by the Research Committees and published in the Yearbooks of the National Association of Deans of Women in 1935,1936, and 1937.

In addition to the research effort, more books joined The Education of Women (1910) by Marian Talbot and Lois Mathews' The Dean of Women (1915). Anna E. Pierce, dean of women at the New York State College for Teachers produced Deans and Advisers of Women and Girls in 1929. Jane Jones' research (cited earlier) was published in the Teachers College series, Contributions to Education in 1928. Another graduate study, The Effective Dean of Women: A Study of the Personal and Professional Characteristics of A Selected Group of Deans of Women, appeared in 1932 written by another dean, Eunice Mae Acheson. Sarah Sturtevant and Ruth Strang contributed their own research, A Personnel Study of Deans of Women in Teachers College and Normal Schools in 1928 followed by A Personnel Study of Deans of Girls in High School in 1929. A much larger study, A Personnel Study of Deans of Women in Colleges, Universities, and Normals Schools updated the earlier studies with its' publication in 1940.

By the mid-1930's, 40 years after the first deans of women were appointed and a mere 17 years after the national association was formed, deans of women had firmly established themselves in higher education administration. Far from "spinsterly battle axes", the first deans were well-respected academic women who had committed themselves to their disciplines. While they were determined to provide counsel and support to young women, they also focused on the pre-requisites of scholarship as the road to respect in academe. Accordingly, the early deans wrote books, conducted research, published articles, and established

professional associations. In turn, the associations developed journals and held annual conferences for the further dissemination of knowledge and advancement of the profession.

The deans of women encouraged graduate study and graduate degrees not only for the training of new young deans but also because it expanded the opportunities for research. As a new profession, the deans did not stand still. The faculty teaching in the graduate programs, as evidenced by Ruth Strang, represented some of the strongest researchers and practitioners in the new fields of guidance and counseling and the emerging "personnel" movement. When Esther Lloyd-Jones joined Strang and Sarah Sturtevant on the faculty at Teachers College, she brought with her first hand knowledge and experience of the new "personnel psychology", first developed at Northwestern University in Evanston by Walter Dill Scott.

The Deans of Men

Two of the first deans of women were appointed at the University of Chicago in 1892. Seventeen years later, the first dean of men was appointed.[6] The first "official" dean of men is probably Thomas Arkle Clark, a professor of rhetoric at the University of Illinois. Clark was officially named dean of men in 1909. His appointment was soon followed by others at Purdue, Iowa, and Wisconsin, to name only a few. While the admission of women had created changes on campus which demanded more immediate administrative response, such as naming deans of women, the supervision of male students was less of a concern.

Given the rapid appointment of deans of men in the Midwest, it is natural that the first recorded meeting of deans of men took place at a Big Ten institution.

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[6]Le Baron Russell Briggs, an English professor at Harvard, is credited as the first "student" dean to be appointed, preceding even Alice Palmer and Marian Talbot at Chicago. Overwhelmed with administrative work, both on and off campus, Charles Eliot, Harvard president and Brigg's mentor, appointed Briggs as dean for students in 1890. At the same time, Eliot appointed another faculty member to be dean for academic matters (Eliot, 1903; Brown, 1936).

The dean of men's first meeting occurred some sixteen years after the first meeting of deans of women in Chicago and two years after the creation of a national organization for deans of women. Scott Goodnight, dean of men at the University of Wisconsin, arranged the meeting in Madison in 1919 "for a discussion of our problems" (NADM, 1934, pp. 28). Goodnight, with encouragement from Robert Rienow of Iowa, called the meeting because of his concern for student disciplinary matters between the schools. In his own words,

> . . . so without authorization from anybody, I wired Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan to come on over. The idea of founding a permanent organization or creating a professional association was the farthest thing from my mind when I invited the boys to come in for a weekend so that we might discuss our commons tribulations more intimately. It was after the first meeting had proved so pleasant and stimulating that the proposal was made to repeat it. (NADM, 1933, pp. 30)

The session proved was a success and other annual meetings were held over the next few years. Official minutes were published following the third meeting in 1921. A formal name for the gathering, the National Association of Deans of Men, was adopted in the same year.

The men's meetings were social and club-like in contrast to the professionalism of the national conferences of the deans of women. The deans of men enjoyed the opportunity to converse, to enjoy local hospitalities and activities, and to regale each other with tales from their campuses.

The tone of the early meetings of deans of men is captured in the comments of Stanley Coulter, dean of men at Purdue University.

> What is a Dean of Men? I have tried to define him. When the Board of Trustees elected me Dean of Men, I wrote to them very respectfully and asked them to give me the duties of the Dean of Men. They wrote back that they did not know what they were but when I found out to let them know. I worked all the rest of the year trying to find out. I discovered that every

unpleasant task that the president or the faculty did not want to do was my task. I was convinced that the Dean of Men's office was intended as the dumping ground of all unpleasant things. (NADM, 1928, pp. 37).

Over time, issues of professionalism, graduate study, and the role of the dean of men were topics of discussion but they were addressed in a more affable, informal manner with less emphasis on scholarship and research than the deans of women demonstrated in their sessions. The deans of men searched for a persona which they liked. They wanted to be appreciated for the services they provided to their respective institutions, including counseling and advising of young men. They feared the common perception that they were only "disciplinarians" whose primary function was to punish young men who ran afoul of college or university rules and regulations. [7]

But the deans of men had a hard time not being perceived as disciplinarians first, and student advocates second. They practiced a benevolent, pipe-smoking, older brother type of in loco parentis . As such, the deans of men often cast the image of their profession in a reactionary role, coming in after the fact, in contrast to the active involvement of the deans of women.

Nowhere was this more apparent than in the oblique debate about professional training and graduate study. Despite the concern over their image, for years the deans of men actively resisted the idea of graduate study for anyone who wished to be a dean of men. Graduate study was superfluous. At the 1931 deans' conference, Joseph Bursley, dean at the University of Michigan claimed, "I am afraid that I am not in sympathy with the idea of any course of training for the position of Dean of Men. . . . The best and most successful Deans of Men are born and not made" (p 103). Bursley offered one concession,

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[7] Some of these stereotypes were true. Thomas Clark published several articles, book chapters, and books, but foremost among them is a collection of tales of miscreant youth, aptly titled, Discipline and the Derelict: Being a Series of Essays on Some of Those Who Tread the Green Carpet (1921).

> There is one place where I believe that preparedness is absolutely essential to the success of a dean of men-- that is in the selection of a wife. The very best preparation he [the dean] can have for his work is to marry the right woman. If she is the right kind, a dean's wife does just as much to earn his salary as he does, and if she is not, he might as well quit before he starts (Bursley, NADM, 1931, pp. 104)

Time did not change this attitude. Five years later, when Thomas Arkle Clark's protégé and eventual successor at the University of Illinois, Fred Turner, appeared before the annual conference of the National Association of Deans of Women in 1936, he declared,

> As chairman of a special committee [of the National Association of Deans of Men] to study and report on . . . the preparation dean of men. . . . [I can report that] the general opinion of those who have served long and successfully, and those who have observed successful deans of men, is that there is no satisfactory training[to be a dean], at least from the academic standpoint, for the simple reason that the best deans are born that way and not trained that way. (Turner, NADW, 1936, pp. 104)

Instead of graduate study, the deans of men suggested that practical training for aspiring deans might be helpful. In response to a survey conducted by Turner, they suggested activities such as were "apprenticeship to a Dean of Men (68)," "work with activities (43)," "administrative duties (30)," "counseling and interviewing (27)," "dormitory proctor (18)" and "business experience (16)." Other suggestions ranged from "Y.M.C.A. work" to "grade tests" to "speaking in public." (NADW, 1936, 105-108).

The "Personnel" Movement

One of the few deans of men who departed from this general attitude was F.F.Bradshaw, dean of men at the University of North Carolina. As early as 1931, he pressed his fellow deans to consider

that the deanship stands to some extent at a fork in the road. . . . whether we are to be solely campus disciplinarians or whether we are to be administrative coordinators of the institution's work from the point of view of the whole individual student and the point of view of group life of students. (in NADM, 1931, pp. 108).

Bradshaw became active in the new personnel movement which had been initiated by the work of Walter Dill Scott at Northwestern University. Scott spawned others who pursued this area of study including L. B. Hopkins who became president of Wabash College in Indiana and Esther Lloyd-Jones, who moved from Northwestern to a faculty position at Teachers College with Strang and Sturtevant. Scott developed his concept of "personnel psychology" while he was a young psychology professor at Northwestern. Simply put, through a battery of tests, extensive interviews, and meticulous record-keeping, each participant was to be chronicled and categorized as to family background, personnel interests, aptitude, and vocational and career aspirations. In the college setting, records on individual students allowed the trained observer to assess the student's developmental progress towards a college degree but also a successful occupation and ideally, a fulfilling life. Rather than leave vocation, personal satisfaction and social efficiency to whimsy and chance, the application of proper personnel and guidance techniques enabled the personnel directors to direct and support student's energies towards constructive and useful ends.

Gradually, the concept spread. L..B. Hopkins wrote up his own version of Scott's personnel philosophy for higher education, Personnel Procedure in Education published in 1926 by the American Council on Education (ACE)[8] When Esther Lloyd-Jones moved to Teachers College from Northwestern, she insured the

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[8] George Zook, U.S., Commissioner of Education and later president of the ACE became an early and zealous convert to the concepts of the personnel movement. Zook, Hopkins, and Lloyd-Jones would all serve on an ACE committee in 1937 credited with propelling student personnel into the forefront of higher education.

proliferation of the "personnel" movement through her work with graduate students and deans of women. Her book, Student Personnel Work at Northwestern University was published in 1929.

The "student personnel" movement began to take hold in the 1930s. The concept and practice of guiding students through the application of psychology and vocational guidance was embraced by the deans of women in the early 1930s. Not only were the graduate faculty at Teachers College and other institutions promoting the very latest in psychological sciences for work with college students, the deans of women, through their national association, they spread the word to deans of women and other faculty members across the country.

As early as 1931, a report on land-grant colleges by the U.S. Commissioner of Education noted,

> "the term "personnel service has been carried over into the colleges from industry, where it came into prominence just after the World War [WWI] . . industry uses personnel work in selecting, teaching, lessening turnover, conserving health, and providing recreations for its workers. . . . When colleges took over this type of work ... the fundamental aim . . . [was] service to the student as an individual. [However] the colleges have for years been obtaining and filing away vast numbers of records, a source for limitless research, that, rightly used, might throw much light on many of their unsolved problems (pp 420-24).

By 1937, the ACE published a monograph reporting the work of a sub-committee on Student Welfare which enthusiastically promoted the concept of "student personnel." The monograph was addressed to a primary audience of college and university presidents and to faculty. It extolled the virtues of guiding students through courses, vocations, and even the extracurriculum under the tutelage of student personnel procedures. The seventeen member committee included two women active in many the activities of deans of women, Esther Lloyd-Jones, and Thrysa Amos, later president of the NADW (SPPV, 1937)

Over time, the student personnel concept won many supporters. The deans of women saw the new philosophy as sound theory put into practice and a real benefit to women students. By placing an emphasis on social efficiency and tying vocation to skills and ability, not just physical attributes, the personnel concept was much more friendly to women than other existing methods of selection and training.

What the deans could not know was the personnel movement carried with it the seeds of destruction for deans of women. At Northwestern, Walter Scott had encouraged that personnel offices and workers be coordinated under a single director of personnel for efficiency. In his mind, one of the primary benefits of developing a personnel approach in either a corporate or collegiate setting was the coordination of all personnel matters. A single personnel director could and should administer the entire operation, coordinating the efforts of as many subordinates as necessary to collect the necessary information. While this logical application of administrative hierarchy may have made sense, it did not bode well for the deans of women. Whether in the Army, a factory or a college, the administrative head of any large operation was almost always going to be a man.

The "Disappearing Dean of Men"

While Dean Bradshaw of North Carolina became a proponent of the "student personnel" movement in the early 1930's, most of his peers did not[8]. The deans of men did not alter their attitudes noticeably until after an address by W. H. Cowley in 1937 at their national conference with the auspicious title, "The Disappearing Dean of Men."

Cowley, director of educational research at Ohio State, and a member of the ACE committee which had produced the monograph on the Student Personnel Point of View" (ACE, 1937) spelled out the future for the assembled deans of men at in a

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[8] In fact, Bradshaw limited his involvement in the National Association of Deans of Men and focused his energies towards work on the personnel concept, often sharing committee assignments with deans of women and their peers.

was simple and straightforward thesis--- as the need for student personnel services expanded within higher education, the office of the dean of men would cease to exist.

While "deans for student relations" and "instructional" or academic deans had "grown out of the same tree" under Charles Eliot's administration at Harvard in the late 1800s, both "branches' had changed significantly over time[9]. Cowley saw the existing dispersion of student personnel functions among the deans of men and women as an obstacle to effective work with students.

As an example, Cowley described the admissions director who collected valuable information from entering students via the college's application form. This application form is ". . . replete with information of high value to the members of the personnel staff other than the admissions officer" (pp. 94). However, the information remained in a file in the admissions office, forcing others to collect it all over again in a waste of their time as well as the students. In essence, Cowley claimed, " . . . all student personnel services .. . should be made to work together in unison, they should all move forward in step, in brief, they should all be coordinated. (pp. 94). Ergo, a coordinated approach meant no dean of men.

In conclusion Cowley (1937) declared, there were "three roads" to a coordinated program in student personnel available to institutions. The first "road" allowed the existing dean of men to became the personnel coordinator; the second "road" made the dean subordinate to a new coordinator of personnel services; the third option did away with the positions of both dean of men and women entirely, as had already occurred at Earlham, William and Mary, Iowa State, and Northwestern. While some might desire a "fourth road," Cowley acknowledged, in which things remained as they were, it did not seem likely. The turn towards student personnel services in higher education, Cowley told the deans, was irreversible and universal. While "sitting deans" might be named coordinator

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[9] Cowley is referring specifically to Eliot's appointment of Le Baron Russell Briggs as dean for students at Harvard.

or director of personnel in the revamped organization, much would depend on the incumbent. Each dean would have to be evaluated on his own merits. A successful transition would depend on the dean of men's "training, his temperament, his intellectual range, his ability as an executive, and . . . his spirit" (pp. 99).

Of the many questions Cowley fielded at the end of his presentation, the most provocative was whether a dean of women could be promoted to the top spot, coordinator or dean for personnel? "It seems to me there isn't any reason deans of women shouldn't go up if they are equal to it. I think we can say that the deans of women are in exactly the same position as deans of men", Cowley replied (pp. 99).

But in fact they were not. Most of the deans of women, or at least many, had been nutured in a profession which valued graduate study, emphasized research, and promoted change, including the new "personnel movement" Cowley was describing. As a profession, the deans of women were much better suited to the innovations and developments of the "student personnel point of view" in contrast to many of the deans of men who had "pooh, poohed" the notion of training or professional development. Good deans were "born, not made" seemed a fitting eulogy for the "disappearing" deans of men.

But in fact, little changed in the immediate future. In 1937, Cowley could trumpet the siren song for the deans of men but in reality, few lost their positions. Instead, World War II became the predominant story for the entire nation within a few short years. As a result, innovations on college and university campuses were put on hold. Those campuses that remained open maintained a status quo.

It was not until the post-war years of the late 1940's and 1950's, some 10-15 years later that the climate on campus truly changed. However, in the face of returning veterans and surging enrollments, the "personnel movement" came into the picture again. As campuses adopted the "student personnel" philosophy as envisioned by the American Council on Education in 1937, it was often out of self-defense as an efficient means to deal with the enormity of the new student population on campus. Even on coeducational campuses, American higher

education became a "man's world" once again. As campuses struggled to find housing, hire instructors, and accommodate veterans eager to cash in on the G.I. Bill, women were pushed off to the side. And in short order, it was the position of dean of women, not dean of men, which systematically disappeared from most college and university campuses.

The Disappearing Dean of Women

As a figurehead, the dean of women was threatened both in numbers and as a symbol. Although women's representation on campuses had climbed steadily from 1870 through the 1920s, women's inclusion on campus had never been easy. The economic Depression in the 1930s and national attention on the world war in the 1940s further redirected social energies away from education. When the country returned to domestic issues following World War II, the press for "normalcy" and rush to reward men for the "war effort" ignored the role women had played in achieving success. In many cases, it galvanized attitudes which can best be described as "anti-women", including the slow but steady erosion of women's presence on college campuses (Chafe, 1972). Barbara Solomon (1980) and Patricia Graham (1978) cite enrollment statistics over the period from 1870 to 1950. They describe a slow but steady decline in the enrollment of women from 1930 through the 1950's. From 47 percent. representing almost half of the undergraduates in 1920, by the mid-1950's, women accounted for only 21 percent of all undergraduate students nationally (Graham, 1978).

Many explanations can be offered but this precipitous decline, but the simplest are probably the most accurate. Despite their significant presence by the mid-1920's, women had not been never been welcome on college campuses. Although a few pioneering presidents and others demanded coeducation and insisted on the right of women to a higher education, many male faculty and students resented women. An uneasy truce was declared, in part because of the economic good sense of enrolling female students and the unwillingness to support

two single sex institutions when one would do.

However, the Serviceman's Readjustment Act, better known as the G.I. Bill, itself as source of economic deliverance as it would keep the flood of returning male veterans from pushing the fragile economy into another Depression, served as a vehicle to return to college campus to its rightful owners, men. Women were tolerated but only just that, tolerated. During the 1950s women in college were said to be studying for their "M.R.S. degree" as opposed to a B.S. . In short, it was a man's world once again.

As the primary focal point for women's involvement on campus, the dean of women was no longer a positive force for change but instead, became a pariah. The caricature of the "spinsterly, snooping battle ax" (Rhatighan, 1978) gained credence primarily in the 1950's, as it allowed the final denigration of a proud, respected, and pioneering professional --- the dean of women. Instead of the recognition and respect which many of the deans of women deserved from their establishment of graduate study, research, professional associations, and a significant body of literature, the deans of women saw their roles and offices erode.

The personnel directors W.H. Cowley had predicted in 1937 were finally appointed in post-war America in the late 1940s and during the 1950s. And, as Cowley had anticipated, many of the deans of men were re-aligned into positions such as dean for student personnel, dean of students, and vice- presidents for student personnel services. Most tellingly, in 1951, the National Association of Deans of Men changed the name of their organization to the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators. Over the 15 year period from Cowley's first warning of "disappearing deans of men" , the name change indicated that the deans of men had at last caught on.

In contrast, deans of women were often given lesser positions, dismissed or allowed to retire quietly. Many of the ideas, theories, concepts, research, and goals of the deans of women went forward but the deans of women did not. As men assumed the role of leading higher education and student affairs issues, research,

and policy, but in fact, they were simply advancing the ideology of the women who had begun the process as early as the 1890s. Ironically, higher education administration and student affairs in the 1990s continues to attract more women than men to graduate study. And following the pattern established in the 1950s, most of the top administrative positions still go to men.

Summary

Unfortunately the collective memory much of the positive influence of the deans of women has been erased. The vibrant history and pioneering work of Alice Freeman Palmer, Marion Talbot, Lois Kimball Mathews, Jane Jones, Sarah Sturtevant, Ruth Strang, and others has been ignored. In the modern histories of the profession of student affairs and higher education, life begins in 1937 with the development and publication of the ACE monograph, The Student Personnel Point of View. Little or no mention of the leadership and dedication of the early deans or their successors in the 1920s. 1930s and 1940s is retained. Little or no mention of the research and graduate study is included. Scant reference to the diligence of women faculty and deans is accounted for nor are there many acknowledgments that the women who populated the coeducational campuses flourished under the support and nuturance of deans who cared for and about them. What remains of the deans of women is the caricature of the "spinster" dean of women who personifies all that is wrong with adult supervision of callow youth.

In the tradition of Malinowski's ignorance of the Trobriand women, the history and culture of higher education has been written and interpreted so as to ignore or at the least denigrate the contributions of women. It has long been presumed that the deans of women must not have been important because they are no longer a part of the administration of the modern college and university. The interpretation is wrong. The deans of women were very important, especially to other women. Without the appointment of deans of women in the late 1800s and early 1900s and through the 1930s, many female students could not have survived

the animosity of male-centered higher education. Deans of women were appointed to "take care of the girls" but in fact, they contributed greatly to the success of modern higher education in many more ways and to both male and female students. As early as 1915, Lois Kimball wrote in The Dean of Women,

> the danger is that coeducational institutions will continue to be in the future as the vast majority have been in the past, - institutions for men, with requirements set at a man's pace and to meet his needs, where women are admitted, rather than institutions which provide with equal readiness, ingenuity, and enthusiasm courses for both sexes (pp. 14).

Much of the initial research completed on students, student culture, and the value of higher education was completed by women. Often, those women were deans of women themselves or women who were engaged in the education of deans of women. In truth, the development of student support services of all kinds, career development activities, discipline, and other student related research was generated, conducted, and supported by the deans of women.

As Annette Weiner gently points out, Malinowski suffered from an ethnographic myopia about women in the Trobriand Islands. As she states in her final chapter, "We unquestioningly accept male statements about women as factual evidence for the way a society is structured. . . . From this view, since we compare women to men in the context of politics, we should not be surprised that we arrive at the almost universal notion that women's status is secondary to that of men. (pp.228). In much the same way, the history of American higher education has experienced a similar form of short-sightedness about the deans of women. Hopefully, more accurate histories in the future will serve as corrective lenses through which the true value and worth of the deans of women can be seen.

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